1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

192[X] corpse — al'-ma — Can this be Spanish, *alma*, soul?

cotton — ɔa-wi'+juk — *Juk*, material.

to cough (v) } to
cough (s) } to — The resemblance to the Sp. *tos*, a cough, is probably only a coincidence.

[103] country — koŋ̃ / koŋ̃+ska — *Koŋ̃* is used in innumerable compounds. Not only is it used in the same manner in all the allied dialects, but in Brunka, it occurs as *kak*, the sun. Nearly all words relating to country, air, day, atmosphere, sky, earth, in short, the general physical surroundings, contain it as an integral part, *Koŋ̃+ska* is the country inhabited by any people.

cousin — ——— — Cousins are called "brother" and "sister," even if several degrees removed.

to cover — pa+bŏ-ku' / i-shku+pa+bŏ-ku' — *Pa*, skin, covering, surface; *i-bŏ-ku*, see to pack; to cover a solid object. To cover a vessel to shut a book.

coward — sũ-wa+na — See afraid.

crab — ju-wi'

crazy — i-li'-na — *Ye li'-na-ka*, "he is crazed."

crooked — ki-tunk'

cup — kyoŋ̃ — See calabash.

to cut — i-nyu' — Without chopping.
i-tu' — With chopping.

cylindrical — a-ra-bo'+wa

damp — mong'-mok

to dance — klu'+ptu — *Klu*, the foot; *ptu*, the sole.

dark — tset-tsei' — Also any dark color, especially dark brown.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

102
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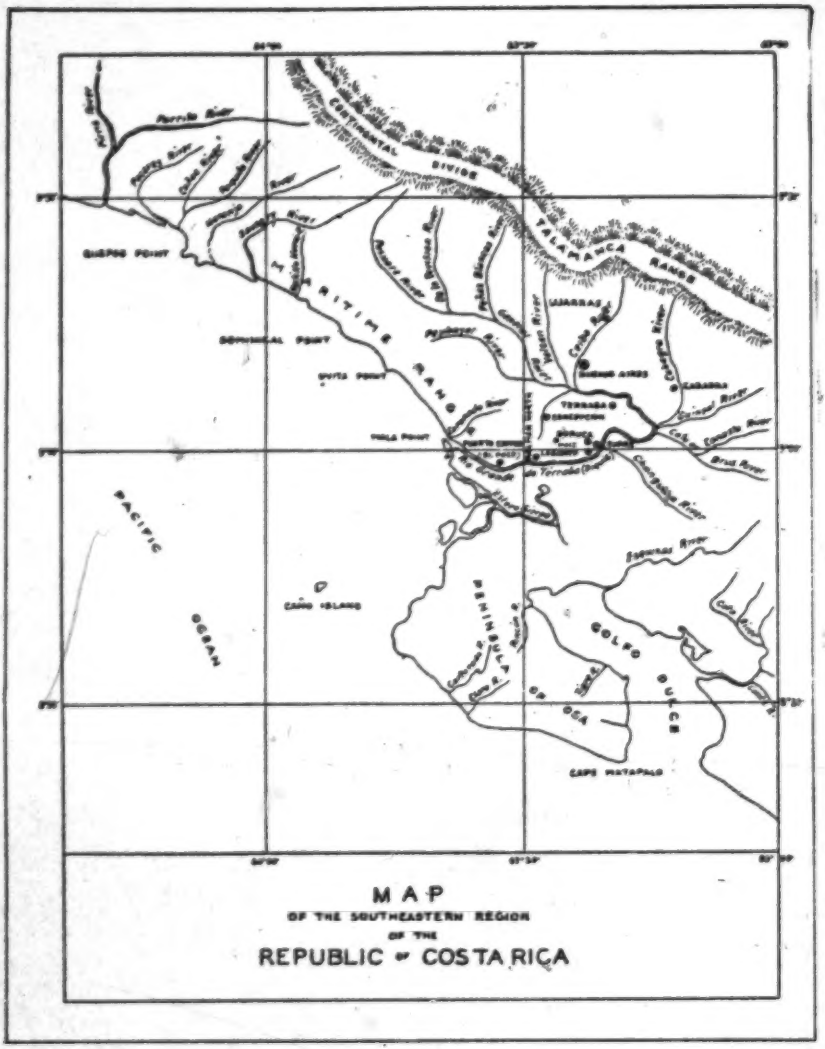

FIG. 1. Map of the southeastern region of the Republic of Costa Rica.

[p. ii]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

GEOGRAPHY

131 THE country of the *Boruca* lies in the southeastern section of Costa Rica (see fig. 1, frontispiece) starting from the upper end of the flood plain of the Río Grande de Térraba, or, as we prefer to call it in the present paper, the Diquis River. *Diquis* is the older 103 appellation, and is the name most frequently used in Costa Rican geographies, being an Hispanic form of the *Boruca* words *dik*, meaning "water" and *krit* or *krjta*, meaning "large." It is from this also that the term *Rio Grande* or "Large River" has evolved. The name *Térraba* is more recent, and is due to the one-[101] time important community of *Térraba* Indians who were moved to the upper reaches of the Diquis River from the Talamanca region around 1700 by Fray Pablo de Rebullida.[1]

131 The land of the *Boruca* follows the river northward on both sides to a short distance above Curré. This territory includes the section of the Changuena River on the east, and most of the Cordillera Bruqueña, which is the Maritime Range, on the west and east. 162 Within this limited area, the *Boruca* have five 361 settlements. The largest of these is Boruca with forty-seven houses, and three hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, the majority of whom can be classed as Indian without *ladino* or white

[Text continues on top of page 3-B]

EARLY

101 What was included in the original territory 175 of the *Boruca*, we cannot say. The term, which we find spelled *Burucac*, appears to have been first used by Juan Vázquez de Coronado in a letter to the king, written in 1563.[2] He unfortunately does not delimit their location. It is obvious, however, that they formed a single unit or tribe. Throughout the early literature, allusion is made to the *Borucas* as *indios infieles y de guerra*,[3] who apparently fought with many of their neighbors as well as the Spaniards. Later during the Conquest, the term was applied to

[Text continues at bottom of p. 3-B]

[1] Fernández, 1907, tom. IX, p. 502; tom. III, p. 327, footnote 8. Peralta, 1938, p. 425 gives the date 1697 for the transferal of these people.

[2] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 37.

[3] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 99, 462.

[p. 3-A]

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SA19 Talamanca SA19

539 Brunka to his presence, and told him he could go, and to be careful not to wound hogs again without killing them. He also marked in his presence all the hogs he would be at liberty to kill. And the man went away through the woods, until he got to Krámra-ua,[1] where he met with a few of his kinsmen who were hunting hogs. When they saw the man who used to cure them, the hogs always ran to him, and never would go away, so that he could easily kill all those which had been marked for him. And he always advised his companions never to wound animals, but to kill them right away.

VII. DON PEDRO CASCANTE.

(Legend of the hollow trail of El Pito.[2])

487 773 [481] In very remote times, when the Spaniards had not yet arrived in these countries, the Indians only could climb up from the coast of Quepos to the high mountains of Dota by following the long and tiresome ridge of El Pito, bound together by means of the royal vine into files of ten to twenty, and pulled by witchcraft without any effort from their side. But, also, on each journey one man disappeared without the others being aware when or how, and that was the toll they paid for the dreaded ascent.

539 This great calamity had lasted for numberless years, and the trail to El Pito became deeper and narrower from day to day, on account of the way they had to go over it, bound together in long files, when a very holy missionary father left Cartago, riding a strong white mule, to go and win over the Indians. And as he was going down to the coast through the fearful road of El Pito, he met the "Encanto" which had taken the form of a big turkey, and would not get out of the road to let the holy man pass. Then the father became very angry; he alighted from his mule, bound the turkey with a blessed string, and dragged him down hill until they got to the place called "Alto de los Cotos." There he tied him to a large tree which he blessed, and told him that he would stay there up to the day of the final doom. And from that day hence, the "Encanto" never again annoyed the passers-by.

Only a certain Pedro Cascante, who had a large breeding-farm of mules and cattle, down on the plain of "El Calicanto," allowed himself to become a prey to his avarice, and on account of it, he lost his soul.

Cascante had become very rich by carrying out to San Marcos the

[103]

[1] Krámra-ua, name of a place on the lower Diquís.

[2] This trail, so deeply cut into the ridge of El Pito as to be tunnel-like at a few places, leads from San Marcos, once one of the principal residences of the Quepos Indians, down to the coastal plains of the Pacific.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

[P. 3(A)]
[PP. 1-2 contain no textual material]

GEOGRAPHY

131 COSTA RICA is a relatively small country consisting of 50,900 square kilometers of land, the greater portion of which is rough, mountainous terrain. The heart of the republic is the Central Plateau where the bulk of the population is of Spanish descent with little indigenous blood and where the soil is highly cultivated or turned into pasture land.

Eastern Costa Rica, however, is, for the most part, forest with concentrated nucleuses of diverse aboriginal groups (fig. 1). The southern littoral of this section is formed by the 131 133 plain of Talamanca which geographically includes the region from the Reventazón River to the actual border with Panama. The long ridges of the Talamanca Range, one of the highest in Central America, commence at the eastern bank of the Reventazón River and run southward from the plain, rising to a maximum elevation of 3,583 meters. There are only a few 131 difficult passes across these mountains: a trail 133 from Cabagra on the Pacific slope to the upper Lari River, habitat of the Bribri Indians; a trail 487 from Ujarrás on the Pacific side to the upper Coen River, the dividing line between the Bribri and the Cabécares; and a trail from Canaan northwest of the General Valley to the Chirripó River, which area is also the home of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 3(B) - GUAYMI]

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 **Regional Terminology.** The word Talamanca 103 is not indigenous. It first appears in documents referring to the founding of the Spanish town [101] of Santiago de Talamanca, in 1605, by Diego [635] de Sojo, who chose the name in honor of his own birthplace.[2] The site he picked was in a valley known in 1605 as Duy or Guaymí (both of which were also names of provinces)[3] but which earlier was called Coaça. The first re-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 3(B) - GUAYMI]

[115] [1] The identification of these trees and grasses was made by Dr. Paul J. Shanks, forester, who accompanied the writer on a field trip from Ujarrás to Cabécar and the Talamanca Valley.

[2] See Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 116-30; Lehmann,

[P. 3(B)]

GEOGRAPHY

the Cabécares. Still another trail runs parallel to the coast from Chirripó to Talamanca. What is known as the valley of Talamanca is limited to the region of the Sixaola River.

Flora. For about 1,800 meters above the plain of Talamanca is rain forest where many edible fruits, nuts, and medicinal plants are found. Inland, behind this zone and extending over the continental divide, is an area of cloud forests broken only by small patches of paramo on the highest crests. It is extremely rugged country with the south side being steeper than that of the Caribbean. The cloud forest vegetation consists chiefly of hard woods such as oak, including *Quercus copeyensis*, Ira Quizarrá (*Magnolia poasana*), and large areas of *Chinchona pubesens*.[3]

On the Pacific slope of the range there is no rain forest. In the vicinity of the two most eastern passes, however, from approximately 1,670 meters, and continuing intermittently to the two important upland valleys of southeastern Costa Rica, the General and Potrero Grande, are savanna lands showing to a certain extent evidences of cultivation in the remote past. The principal grass genera in this area are *Agropyrum*, *Festuca*, and *Stipa*.

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

ports concerning this region are contained in a suit between Hernán Sanchez de Badajoz and Rodrigo de Contreras over its conquest in 1540. The name of the valley was derived from that of a chieftain, Coaça or Coaza, of Mexican extraction, who had gained control before the Spanish arrival,[4] and was a bitter enemy of a neighboring leader, Tiriaca, Tariaca, or Cariaca.[5] The place name, Coaça, continued

[Text continues top of P.5(A)--Analyst]

1920, vol. 1, pp. 149–50, 213–14.

[3] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–317.

[4] Fernández, 1907, vol. VI, pp. 236–323; Lothrop, 1944; Stone, 1956.

[5] *See* Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 289, 317.

[P.4]

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

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131
133

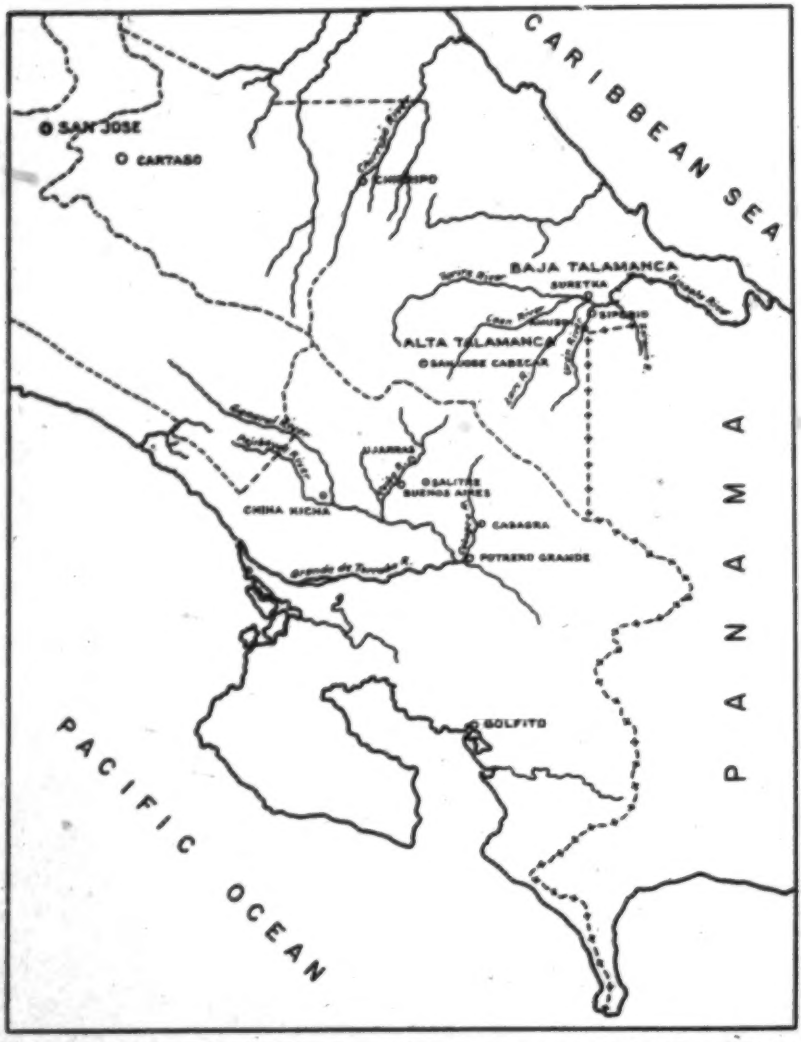

FIG. 1. Map of eastern and southern Costa Rica showing some sites associated with the Bribri and Cabécar Indians.

103 to be employed at least as late as 1564.[6] It was also known as the valley of the Tilorio or Teliri River and is the plain we call today Talamanca, Lower Talamanca, or Sixaola.[7]

The terms Duy and Guaymí should be examined further as well as the term Ara. Ara was never applied to the valley alone but was used for a province including much of this area. To begin with, we should bear in mind the statement made by one of the first conquerors to touch Costa Rican soil, Joan Dávila: "... they call a town and also a province a kinsfolk (group) of parents and sons and grandsons."[8] Without realizing it, Dávila had noticed the clan system (*see* Social Organization) and thereby presented us with a clue to the confusion of aboriginal names in the historical documentation referring to Costa Rica. This multiplicity of terms must have been even greater in pre-Spanish times as a result of wars and migrations (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*).

[614] [114]

635 103 Duy, besides being the name of the Sixaola Valley, was also the name of an aboriginal province and a chieftain.[9] As a term, it was applied to the region from the western limit of the Bay of Almirante[10] to the lower Changuinola or Tilorio or Estrella River through the valley of Coaça.[11] Guaymí, on the other hand, was used for the same area as Duy on the Caribbean side, but extended more to the east, besides including the Pacific slope of the range from what is now Potrero Grande to Panama.[12]

103 Ara seems to have covered the drainage of the Sixaola River and to have included the valley itself.[13]

131 The Spaniards, not content merely to found

[6] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–94.

[7] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 123, 126–28. The name Sixaola (Black River, *see*, Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 222) is Mosquitia and dates from the English-Mosquito invasions in Spanish-held territory. The Bribri name is Teliri meaning "large river."

[8] Peralta, 1883, p. 71, "... una parcuela de padres é hijos é nietos llaman un poeblo y tambien provincia."

[9] Peralta, 1883, p. 349; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[10] Fernández, 1907, vol. V, p. 100.

[11] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[12] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51; Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 221, 233, 294; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 204.

[192] [13] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 193–94, 216. It is interesting to note that in 1956 *ara* or *aran* signified "you"; *ará*, however, is "a little child."

131 a city which might bring few riches in itself, also delimited the area of its jurisdiction, placing as the borders of Santiago de Talamanca:

> . . . in latitude all the land and boundary from the crest of the range to the northern sea; and in longitude from the Tarire River, following the pass one takes to go from the aforesaid city to the province of Tariaca, all the land to the east, which is its length, to the Escudo de Veragua, which is the border which separates this government from that of Veragua. . . .[14]

[103] Here then we have the first application of the term Talamanca to a given area.

131 635 However, in 1605 there were two more provinces in northeastern Costa Rica. Tariaca ran from the western limits of [illegible] to that of Pococi.[15] It included the T[illegible] River, an important affluent of the Sixaola, and was considered as part of Talamanca from as early as 1675.[16] Pococi extended to Suerre,[17] the province of which began with the modern Reventazón River,[18] and included within its borders the Matina or Chirripó River and extended to Tayutique and the site of present-day Limón.[19]

[103] On the Pacific side of the Talamanca Range, the terminology is less confused in spite of the fact that the valley of Guaymí is mentioned here. From the first entrance of Juan Vázquez [175] de Coronado in this region in 1563, only two provinces are noted: Coctu (Coto) and Turucaca. Both were situated between the mountains of Talamanca and a smaller range known as the Maritime but they were nearer to the slopes of the first.[20] Most of the thirteen towns [693] belonging to these provinces were located in savanna lands.[21]

[14] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 126. ". . . en latitud toda la tierra é termino que ay desde lo alto de la cordillera hasta la mar del norte; y en longitud, desde el río *Tarire*, por el paso que se pasa yendo de la dicha ciudad á la provincia de *Tariaca*, toda la tierra que corre al este, ques el largo della, hasta el *Escudo de Veragua*, ques el termino que parte esta governación de la de *Veragua*. . . ."

[15] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 308

[16] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 351. Compare with pp. 344, 353, and 370.

[17] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 309; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 216.

[18] González Víquez, 1935, pp. 9-39.

[19] Peralta, 1883, p. 756.

[20] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51.

[21] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 233.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P.6(A)]

101 **Peoples:** *Names and Location.* Such complicated terminology with respect to geographical extensions leaves little hope for too clear a presentation of the inhabitants of this area. [635] The ancient provinces of Duy and Guaymí included the northwestern section of Panama which was in part the home of the Térraba Indians. These people will be treated only in connection with history and tradition in this study in spite of the fact that in historic times there was a small group on the Zorquín River.[22] In the actual report, we use the term Talamanca as an all-inclusive word for the Bribri and the Cabécares. There are between [162] two and three thousand of these people on the Caribbean side, and approximately 1,595 on the Pacific.

Panamanian Border to the Coen River. Many names are listed in the documents pertaining to the area from the Panamanian border to the Coen River in Costa Rica. Among these, the commonest are: Ara, Ateo, Abicetaba, Blancos, Biceitas or Viceitas, Korrhué, Ucabarúa, and Valientes. To be sure, most of these terms are spelled in various ways according to the period and the author. These peoples were found between the Urén, Lari, and Coen rivers and in the plain of the Tiliri or Sixaola River, at least as far as Punta Cahuita.[23]

This entire group seems to have been closely related although they were not all one original people.[24] Collectively, they were the first to be known as Talamancas in the early 17th century, and today are called by this name or by that of Bribri.[25] It is interesting to examine these ancient designations because certain ones are associated with peoples now extinct, while others have a definite inference in modern terminology.

The groups that have now disappeared are

[103]

[22] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 218. This is also a Mosquitia name. The Bribri term is Choli.

[23] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219. We do not include here the Sicuas or Zeguas who were also found on the north coast. They were known to be of Mexican extraction. For an account of these people *see* Lothrop, 1944.

[24] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 219–20.

[25] *See*, e.g., the reports of the Franciscan fathers toward the end of the 17th century. The distinction is clearly made between Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas. *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 369–74.

101 the Ateo, Korrhué, and Ucabarúa. The Korrhué, however, seem to have been originally a Cabécar clan conquered by the Bribri.[26] The
[103] name Ara or Arari still signifies in Bribri the upper Lari River, and in a certain sense can mean the inhabitants of this region although as a name it is not applied to the people.[27] Here a settlement known as Bribri is located. The term Biceita or Viceita seems to have its source in that of the Abicetaba who were a Bribri clan[28] and, even though not used in 1959, is understood in Costa Rica as the Bribri. Blancos and Valientes were loose terms as Gabb has correctly shown. Blancos sometimes included the peoples on the western side of the Coen, while Valientes more correctly was applicable to the inhabitants of the eastern portion of Chiriqui Lagoon or Almirante Bay.[29]

Bribri is unknown in the early documentation, but as Pittier points out, the word is derived from *dẹri-dẹri* which he states means "brave" or "strong."[30] In 1959, the Bribri still insist that their name comes from *dererri* meaning "strong" or "hard" and that "brave" is *ẹnsú*. Lehmann[31] notes that during the years 1590–93 the terms *Vrivri* and *Taquetaque* signified to the Guetar of Cuquerrique (Tuquerrique) "Lords and sons of lords." When we remember the tradition that the Bribri conquered at least the Cabécares (*see* Non-Documental History), there is ample reason for these statements.

Western Bank of the Coen River to the Reventazón. On the western bank of the Coen River and continuing through the Tariṛe to the Reventazón rivers were many names, including the Cavécaras (Cabécares), Urinamás, Siruros, Moyaguas, and Chirripó, with a people called Estrella in the coastal area.[32] The only ones of this group, with the possible exception of

[26] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.
[27] In the Bribri tongue, *ara* means "you." *ará* means "a child."
[28] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219.
[29] Gabb, 1875, p. 487.
[30] Pittier, 1898, p. 16.
[31] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219. It should be remembered that Spanish is a phonetic language and even today *v* and *b* are by mistake used interchangeably. In colonial times they were confused more frequently. *See also* Fernández, 1907, vol. VII, p. 392.
[32] Thiel, 1896–98, p. 47. For a more detailed list *see* Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 221.

[P. 8(A)]

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
361 Cabagra [48] and Salitre (*Ɜerí*) and amount to
[162] approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival
[174] of Bribri here is not known although it was probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
166 Range because they had not adhered to clan regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of sig-
[614] nificance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time.
[582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers [44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-
[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Gudrys]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[45] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at
[191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of
[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Gudrys]

[103] [48] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue. The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz
[797] de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Franciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[EP 49(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabécar
Bribri
Chánguena

173 726 The Talamancan medicine man also used his magical skill and flew in pursuit. The Changuina, however, realizing that the other was going to catch him, came down from his great height and fell into the Laguna of Sierpe.[185] His enemy, being more powerful, bewitched him forcing him to remain there forever with his golden horse. Then the victor returned to lead his men in battle and to receive the surrender of the Changuinas and the Cabagras.

As they knew what the outcome of the fight would be, they hid and closed up tightly the golden treasure before it could be captured. [103] The place they chose is known today as the *Tapón de Platanares* at the summit or headwaters of the Changuina River.

Historic Events.

The History of San José Cabécar

(*Cabécar*)

173 776 [103] [614] *sibubetá*, part of Cabécar, lies in the upper Coen. The name means Hill of God because *sibu* lived there. He wore a feathered headdress and a loincloth. The same place was inhabited by the *usegLa*, *túgwa*, and *tigibí* clans. The *usegLa* visited *sibu* in a nice house one day. He was smoking.

173 The Spaniards came and after they had been there awhile, the people spent two evenings sharpening the knives the Spaniards had taught them to use. The first time the Spaniards asked why. The reply was, "We are going to work early in the morning." The Spaniards did not tie up the Indians then because they behaved so well. Five days later, the Indians cut off the heads of the thirty Spaniards. The Indians threw the Spaniards in a swamp, deep in the mud. Other Spaniards came and carried 173 776 [103] *sibu* away. This was, of course, because he wanted to be carried off. The Spaniards called *sibu* San José. That is why Cabécar is known as San José Cabécar. They took *sibu* to Orosi where he is today and only leaves to visit his sister in *sibubetá*. She cannot be seen.

Changuina River meets the Diquís.

[185] Associated with one of the seven mouths of the Diquís River.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.58(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

*539 trees and invited him to drink cacao out of new gourds. The chief replied that he would like to very much, but these little trees never produced. *sibu* answered, "Look! They do have fruit."

The other turned and seeing that the little trees had borne fruit said, "Good. Let's prepare the drink."

sibu made a mixture and together they started to drink but he only pretended. The worm chief set to and when he was full, vomited the *jabu* he had previously swallowed with everything in it.

Then *sibu* collected his seeds, saying that they were his. He dried them in the sun and from these we came.

The Populating of the Pacific Side of the Cordillera of Talamanca

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

At the beginning when *sibu* made the world, it was dark. Three men left Cabécar, in Talamanca, and cut a trail across the range. They were, *səLəʒəbí*, who led the group, *kuasrəs*,[176] who became the first member of the Borucas, and his brother-in-law, *ɨrwik*.

In those days, the savannas on the other side (Pacific) were inhabited by the *sórbru*, the owners of the *wakas*.[177] These were bad people who lived by killing others and did not want the people of Talamanca to dwell amongst them. When the three men reached Ujarrás, there was still no sun, but on arriving at Térraba, day began to break. It was then that a jaguar upon which one of the men was riding, put his paw on a soft rock and the print stayed [778] there.[178]

The owners of the *wakas* disturbed the men so that they sent for an *usegLa*. He came from Talamanca in the form of a jaguar and killed all the *sórbru*. Then other people began to come from Talamanca to populate this side of the range.

[103] [176] Today this name is applied to the ridge that runs from Chirripó Grande, in General Valley, to Boruca. According to the Borucas, *kuasrəs* fled there during the Spanish conquest and lives in a cave. He is the oldest of the Borucas and knows all about their beginnings, but no one has seen him. They do not say that he came from Talamanca.

[192] [177] This is a phonetic (Cabécar) interpretation of

6:Stone E-5 (1958-1959)1962
[P.62(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar

make him sleep. It is then that the water-jaguar takes advantage and goes upstream. He searches for cacao, and when he discovers a well-ripened pod he breaks it open. This is when people drown because the water-jaguar goes from pool to pool inviting them to drink cacao with him. Wise people refuse because they know if they accept, they must die.

The water-jaguar, nevertheless, continues from pool to pool insisting on being accompanied until finally someone approaches and drinks with him. Instead of cacao, however, the liquid is blood from the corpse. Once the feast is over, the empty pod is thrown out of the river. This is when we find the body of the drowned person.

At this very moment, *óknamá* awakes and notes that the water-jaguar has passed him. He realizes this because the plants are spotted.[189] Then he sends *serike* to fetch the water-jaguar and all those who drank cacao with him. When all are in front of *óknamá*, he has them cooked in a large pot and eats the victims and water-jaguar.

(12) *onombrasén*[190]

(*Cabécar*)

When the rivers rise, the water-jaguar goes up and down inviting people to drink cacao with him. Most people refuse, but he always gets some. It is then that the water-jaguar drinks their blood as if it were cacao.

onombrasén, who is a spirit who looks after people, is warned by the cormorant and kingfisher. They tell him where the water-jaguar is drowning people by drinking their blood for cacao.

(13) The Myth of *Mano del Tigre*[191]

(*Cabécar*)

Mano del Tigre is one of the large savannas through which lies the trail from Buenos Aires to Boruca. Curiously enough it is found on almost all the maps of Costa Rica, from the earliest times to the present. There is nothing

[189] After a flood, the water leaves its mark on the vegetation along the river banks. Stone jaguar is sometimes substituted for water jaguar.

[190] *See* Linguistic Texts: *onombrasén*. Compare with The Myth of *óknamáse*.

[191] *See* Linguistic Texts: *namá tö* (jaguar print).

778 on the savanna but scattered rocks. One large
103 rock, however, has an imprint or imperfection
[133] caused by nature which with the help of the imagination one might call a jaguar's paw. From this comes the name *Mano del Tigre*. The Cabécar Indians as well as the Bribri, both Talamancan tribes, hold this rock sacred, and
[782] yearly the medicine men of these two groups
[756] leave offerings of food beside it. The respect for this spot must be very ancient as the following legend suggests.

*539 A long time ago when the sun had not yet appeared, all the stones were as soft as mud. It was then that *ɨəwík*,[192] the monkeys, and the wild pigs lived together and decided to make an excursion with the object of picking out a place to live before the sun might appear. A jaguar also joined the group.

Thus it was that they left Talamanca and crossed the mountain range to the Pacific. *ɨəwík*, who was of normal height, died on the way.[193]

The jaguar, when he saw dawn coming, left his paw print on a rock. This is the reason for the boulder with a paw mark in the savanna by Térraba known as *Mano del Tigre*.

Some people, who lived near, saw many monkeys approaching and pursued them. When they reached them, however, they discovered that they had changed from monkeys to people. They had become the Térrabas. So the hunters left them alone and pursued the wild pigs until they arrived at a place called Boruca. Here they found that the wild pigs were people. This is how Térraba and Boruca were populated. The jaguar hid himself in the Cordillera Bruqueña where he is today.

(14) The Jaguar Hunt[194]

In former times our Indian race (tribe) did not fear anything. They went on hunts which lasted for many days. During one of these ventures, some of our people came across a large house (*palenque*) full of inhabitants. The hunters were caught and were not allowed to leave.

[192] A mythical man.

[778] [193] A great pile of stones in Ujarrás is supposed to mark his grave.

[194] *See* Linguistic Texts: *kɨ̀ɨuLu namɨ́* (hunt jaguar).

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.64(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

*539 614 [824] [825] *grurwák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLiba* or *sənítsrwa*.

The snake is the protector of the *kibegruwák* clan because long ago at *sənítsrwa*, where they lived, one of the first women in the world belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 778 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 186 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 535 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[103] 779 [177]

[196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.

[197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.